[Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpaawe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzoums dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Paheouin recites his geneology (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Paheouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Mebeere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

/Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambassa /Yambama/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpoubi and Nyambet.

Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /50/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

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THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1,126 inhabitants

The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 18th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

According to the Meisel map of April, 1913 (GS, Jaunde), these two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

Bafɔk-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fɔk," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

●[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafɔk and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafɔk.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 380 inhabitants of the enclave of Yasem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafɔk in that they have adopted the
[147] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafɔk.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

•[61] The total population comes to 15,562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
13 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

97 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Betjenge)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

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Tsinga-Beti-Bulu-Fang
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
• 161 Population: 14,588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

341 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 174 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?
Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.
G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Beti-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Beti; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

• 161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map ?/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villages, whose hamlets line the length
367 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

191 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

192 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

193 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 36.7 percent; A: 12.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—Index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 0.878.

191 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

[33] The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

[34] Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)--70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")--15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")-- 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evuzok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49.3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13.1 persons per square kilometer; in Evizok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

[73] History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently --one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weimenbuer). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1888, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

[10] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes: O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[A+AB]}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /72/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair, the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

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Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

107 The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Fulurain family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogeneous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 The road from Yaoundé to Eholowa now crosses the Bane country
497 from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-
142 average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—
index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	50.8
Sowergaw/T	104.9	103.9

144 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is
163 + 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

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Fouang
Fayng

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them.
• [64] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 242 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

191 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

IU 193 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of mortlity is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

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THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE ITUMU

131 Location: 10° 45 to 12° 45 long. and a few islands between 10° and 10° 30 long.

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat.
and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /71/

Physical and Human Geography

Total area: about 11, 500 square km.
Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are southsoutheast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

See:

113 Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (Abart Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

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141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	78.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is 4.03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

(4) There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is 4.69 percent.

(3) The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

(4) The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

(6) The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely (16) high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

(3) The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

(13) See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Anjoulat, Chabeuf, Chaigneau, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropométriques pour servir à l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

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361 (33) in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about 1,728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

•161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96,216 inhabitants; 9.59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Tembaena, Yelinde: 12,987 inhabitants; 7.5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1,407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Dugast, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went farthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of R. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is 4 0.30 percent.

The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

Yengmo. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 0.59.

The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

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Pouyrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagneux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'Étude des principales populations du

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

● 161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bene.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.942.

●164 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

133 River and is watered by its numerous tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Téné; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

•161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants
Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /86/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

To go back to G. Tessmann's classification--which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data--we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrateur Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

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THE YEKABA

Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5° 45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,800 square km.
Population: 14,000 inhabitants
Density: 9.3 persons per square km.

All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the *Tédé* and the *Nyé*, which are bordered by forest.

The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Courmarie, and Boudinesu) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Bedjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Bedjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudinesu). German maps use only the name "Yekaba," concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Bedjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region." (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

According to Courmarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yelongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Bobum, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Banvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yenum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba Bamvele, Bobili

long migration of the Pahouin--although the name "Yalonga" spoken of in their genealogies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé--Nanga-Eboko--Bertoua).

Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot--under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number. The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

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Moisel map, G2, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

[8] We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Meisel map (Dume, GI), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germain.

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Area: 2,472 square km.

[4] Population: Bamvele—18,482 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

[3] The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Tebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [54] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

[17] Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

[17] The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

[11] The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor, they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

It is difficult to say what may be the remote origin of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremeaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here—for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

191 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

193 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{[O+AB]}{[A+AB]}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume

THE OMVANG

[31] Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°30 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°01 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 200 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

•161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 920 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12. 4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

[3] The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is
[33] in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less than a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

261 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Paluuin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Paluuin," ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1935, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.87 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

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113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

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Motsel map, G3, Dume.

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12. 8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10. 26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Akong-M'Eong—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /34/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

Demography. The Mbida-Mbene have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.20.

The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.23 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

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their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [K] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 500,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. J. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camerounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Tresenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Tresenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

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162 Fahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(8,000 and 7,000 inhabitants); they represent more than 35 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

341 618 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 30 clans or tribal fragments are present, especially Oyéh (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak. This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 341 618 619 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments. The most numerous group, that of the Yéngô, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum. This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

S. Bulletin--24 S-5 (1966-1955) 1965 F919 Fang F919

II. The Demographic Situation of the Fang

[91] Not only the administrators of the Fang country but also the villagers themselves are aware of an unfavorable demographic situation. For more than twenty-five years the administrative and medical reports have stressed the "seriousness of the demographic problem." The Fang, alarmed by the numerical [91] decline of their groupings, show us their anxiety by asking that their women be treated medically so as "to have a great many children, as in the past." This feeling of demographic deficiency, added to fragmentation and the lack of power in the groupings, constitutes one of the characteristics of the various Fang "crises." Unfortunately, not all the documents necessary for a detailed study exist. Census taking has only been accurate in the last few years, and the administrative limits which form the framework of the census have changed frequently.

The only study of the whole to which we can refer is that of a physician, Dr. Le Dentu. It is based on information furnished by the local health reports and applies to more than 84,000 individuals. (1) It draws attention to the "great local differences."

> 1. Gal Le Dentu, "Démographie de l'A.E.F. [Demography of French Equatorial Africa]," Archives du Service de Santé [Archives of the Health Service], Brazzaville, 1937.

The Fang race, which shows a deficit in the regions of the Maritime Ogooué and of the Estuary -- where the replacement indices are 0.8 and 0.7, respectively -- displays a "much greater vitality" among the Woleu Fang and the Bakwélé of the Sangha, whose indices are 1.05 and 1.08. The author tends to explain these differences by the very different degrees of evolution [sic] of each of these groups. Such an opinion requires interpretation. One must take into account not only the methods of evolution (the present-day peasantry of Woleu-N'Tem is one of the healthiest of French Equatorial Africa, while being wide open to modern

influences) but also the conditions of nature affecting each of these groups. These conditions as well as economic factors (intensive forestry exploitation) and factors of social disorganization have created in Lower Gabon the most unfavorable demographic situation (the highest degree of mortality and the lowest "genital capacity"). The whole ethnic condition of the Fang remained stationary during the decade 1930-40 (2.3 percent births for 2 percent deaths). How can this feeling of a demographic crisis be explained?

One must consider a disequilibrium which, combined with colonial establishment and exploitation (or aggravated by them), was only very recently broken. It is difficult to be sure, for we have at our disposal only fragmentary information of unequal value. The first calculations of population density [92] made about 1910 by G. Bruel (1) and Périquet (2) give much higher results than those

1. G. Bruel, Notes géographiques sur le Bassin de l'Ogooué [*Geographic Notes on the Ogooué Basin*], Paris, 1911.

2. Captain Périquet, Mission d'Etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

obtained at the present time. Concerning the Woleu-N'tem the geographer G. Sautter was able to make precise comparisons and was convinced that "from the time of the French penetration until about 1930 population ... has diminished considerably." He recalls that "where Périquet estimated the population density as 4.5 inhabitants per kilometer (2) ...., twenty years later [a figure of] less than 2 [ ] is found," and that such a divergence cannot be wholly

2. Captain Periquet, Mission d'etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (2) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

2. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-N'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1946) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory movement -- an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

6: Alexandre and Binet--11 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Survey of Demography

In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent (1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

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administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

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My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

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[167]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80, 000 persons.

index is a little less than $\frac{1}{7}$ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause. . . . ." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed./

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
161 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life
[164] are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly
[173] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
161 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
178 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[164] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

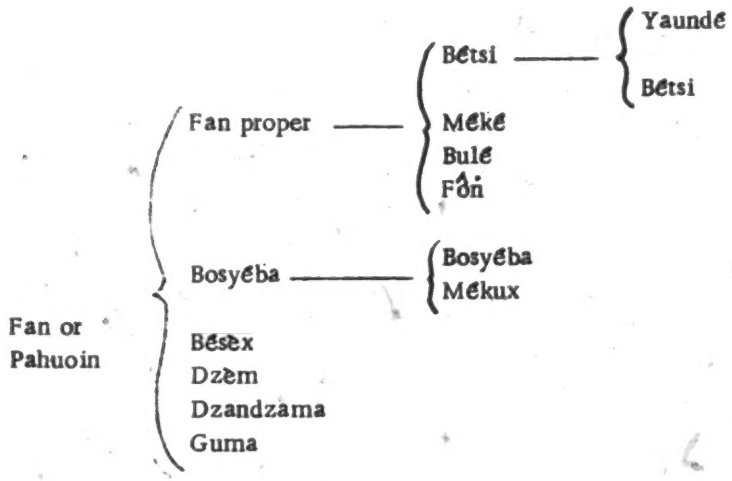
[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

● [161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:

I II



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésex, Dzèm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzèm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèm.

The Bésex, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from
the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered
language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his
porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué,
immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to
discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi terri-
tory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzèm and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1) What is certain is that the

[614]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, ten to twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp.20-397 not translated. -Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôn

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

179 The mvamayôn, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.